1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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787 [196] gwĭdĭcəθ'sk, "they have power"; gwĭsĭəi'k, "one has power"; gwĭsiθe', "shaman."

In native theory dreaming was almost wholly unpremeditated. Quite rarely a man visited certain caves in which the spirits were known to dwell in order to induce dreams of them. But there was no such thing as deliberately going out to seek a vision (as distinguished from a dream). In fact, the only vision in a waking state known to my informants (that of the war tale below) came as involuntarily as the usual power-bestowing dream.

463 787 75 Dreams, by reason of their involuntary character, might come to anyone, but the evidence is that relatively few had dreams bestowing songs or the ability to cure, or to foretell or bewitch. Men shamans numbered only five or six at a time and those who bewitched even fewer. There is some question whether women were ever shamans. Similarly, singers, who had their gift by dreaming and were men alone, were a handful, orators even fewer, and there was but one war leader and one chief. The impression was that those who had power never numbered more than a score in the whole community. This does not mean that the rank and file did not have dreams of the same stereotyped sort, since, [753] for instance, falling ill was commonly attributed to dreaming of the dead or of certain plants, and children were born as the result of dreams, [842] but their dreams did not result in power or song. There was a saying that a handsome individual never dreamed of spirits. That, explained Kutox, my informant, accounted for himself!

Professional segmentation among those having power was marked. These individuals were set off from one another by the possession of discrete powers from particular spirits. Thus, Coyote and Buzzard gave power to cure, Eagle power to sing, Mocking Bird to orate, Frog to bewitch. [776] The differentiation was not a quantitative one in the sense of some having more power, of having dreamed of more spirits, although this may have been true of shamans who cured. Dreaming of various spirits very probably occurred, as suggested by the fact that a single individual did dream more than one song cycle. Against this particularism in professional activity is the fact that while Buzzard,

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It appears quite probable that the blood referred to here is that blood which was released at the time of creation, which is the embodiment of all disease and is ever present in the world about. Most sickness was said to be caused by contact with this blood in "bad" dreams (p. 280), which are here defined as those of the evening and dawn.

There is no explicit account at hand illustrating the effect of this patterning on the dream narrative, but it is implied in descriptions of the content of several songs.

The song il,ica'c, for example, told "of many different things." It told how the little birds or animals of the air are preparing to go to a celebration already under way; how they got there, and how they behaved. It told how, in the middle hours of the night, they thought they should not spend the whole night there, but decided it better to go home, and accordingly how they left the celebration. The song continued that toward morning, those who stayed all night were worn out and sleepy, and how their husbands and children starved in the morning, but how those who had returned had breakfast prepared for their families.

SPIRITS

The spirits of which they dreamed were primarily birds, with some animals and insects, the mountains, certain stars, lightning and thunder, and possibly the rain. Trees were mentioned as having spirits, but that these were power sources is exceedingly doubtful. The number of spirits seems to have been definitely limited, but the basis of their discrimination from those birds, animals, or natural phenomena which were not spirits remains wholly obscure. The question whether the spirits were single individuals or classes seems to have been of no consequence to the Maricopa, hence unresolved. Thus, whether Buzzard was a particular unitary being, or whether the genus buzzard supplied an unlimited number of spirits which functioned alike, was not made clear. The impression is that they thought of but a single spirit Buzzard, of whom the birds of everyday life were but tangible and earthly representatives. This is clearly the case with Coyote, who is Coyote of the creation tales. In the case of insects, flies, gnats, crickets, and the like, these appeared in dreams as a cloud of insects operating in concert. Their plurality proves nothing, since they never appeared individually.

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Birds mentioned as spirits—there may have been others—were mocking bird, an orange shouldered blackbird, buzzard, eagle, horned owl, crow, killdeer, "mountain killdeer,"[7] and duck. Among birds "one does not hear in dreams" were roadrunner, hawks, and crane (heron?). Animals named as spirits were deer, coyote, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, dog, frog, and possibly bat. Certain spirit coyotes created by Coyote (as recounted in the Coyote tale, p. 355) were also dreamed. The four insect spirits named are partially identifiable: cricket, gnat (?) small flies (kumanyihwi'), and xalkwata't. Fish were also dreamed of. In addition there were the local mountains, thunder and lightning, rain (?), the morning star, the constellation Orion's Belt, and two spirits of unknown identity, cĭl,aitcuwa'n, and kukupu'ra.

The powers conferred by these spirits were always specific, despite the fact that several gave powers of more than one kind. Some of the powers were obviously more impressive than others, but why Kutox signaled Eagle and Buzzard as the most important spirit birds is obscure. Last Star stated that Coyote was the most important: "Every shaman who cures always mentions Coyote, Buzzard, and Horned Owl. Coyote and Buzzard could teach the cure for a number of diseases [not specified] and would select various men for each. Although Eagle is a strong bird, none of the shamans seem to dream of him; he is never mentioned in their songs."

Curing powers were associated with certain spirits. Horned Owl alone cured soul loss caused by dreaming of a dead relative. An insect, xalkwata't,[8] and Coyote gave power to cure any illness. "Every shaman who dreamed of xalkwata't claimed he was head of all these animals, the best one living." The power of Coyote was derived from his having recovered from every known disease at the time of creation (see p. 351). A shaman with Coyote power was exceptional in that he never sang in public for entertainment. A shaman with this power needed only ride a horse to

[7] Looks like a small killdeer but lacks black stripes on its throat: possibly the mountain plover.

[8] As large as the thumb, which lives in the ditches.

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cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman, with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Yavapai poisoned arrows (matâ∂au', "poisoned," "bewitched"). Duck and Gnat (ʔ unyĭpâwa'pâwa') were mentioned as additional spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Further, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was forbidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,[9] but gave primarily his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see below).

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, bewitching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer. Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer "because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married women rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer." Mocking Bird made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers dreamed of him. A spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain. One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale (p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior, first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do

[9] The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause all or nearly all sickness.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
●776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus (ʻxu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

Salt-Gila junction (but curiously enough called xagâvĭcâðo', "water divider"; possibly an outlier of the Sierra Estrella). The Salt River Range was known as "greasy mountain" (vikwaxa's) as the scene of the incident in the Creation tale where Coyote finished eating the culture hero's heart and wiped his greasy hands. "They thought of these four mountains as their own because they lived between them. They were not safe beyond these limits." However, certain mountains beyond these were selected as of the same nature: ᵃvikatcâkwi'n,â, "granary basket mountain," the Mohawk Mountains halfway down the Gila; vi'iðo', "willow mountain," south of Prescott; another lying northeast of this, called viakâvânau', "ridge pole mountain," because of its level top; and 'ikwĭmkwima'tc, "dancing with horns," somewhat to the east of the last. "The people long ago called these mountains theirs." Four Peaks in Yavapai country, a mountain near Yuma (called vial,xa", "berdache mountain"), and the sacred mountain of the Mohave (vikwâme') near Needles also had spirit qualities.

The most significant of these were Pima Butte and the Sierra Estrella. The former (viva'vâ, "solitary mountain") figures very much like the sacred mountain Avikwame for the Mohave, or the San Francisco Peaks for the Havasupai. "They praise this little butte because when a man begins to dream, the spirits always take him there first.[10] It is famous even among the Mohave and Yuma." This butte and another south of it were thought to fight with Four Peaks and another mountain on its north side. These represented respectively the Maricopa and the Yuma-Mohave-Yavapai. Depending on which pair of mountains won, so it would fare with humans. A better expression of mountains as partisans is the following.

The man who dreams of war says the Sierra Estrella owns the Maricopa, Pima and Papago: Four Peaks owns the Yavapai. These two are always debating. When Four Peaks wins the debate this one (Sierra Estrella) mourns. Then Four Peaks is happy; he sings and dances, for his people will win in battle.

[10] I understood Last Star to state that a shaman was always first taken to a high hill (called matâu'lgwĭsiðe"c, "high dirt that is a shaman") on the north bank of the Gila, opposite Pima Butte. This is an insignificant hill; hence I was presumably mistaken.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma

776 823 Sierra Estrella was thought to have a berdache living in it, hence its name, vial,xa", "berdache mountain." As explained above, this mountain gambled with the similarly named mountain near Yuma to see which should lose a warrior, who became a berdache. Presumably these two mountains also were thought to contend for the success of their people in war, because it was said of the Mohawk Mountains:

> It lies midway between the Yuma and the Kaveltcadom, so that it belongs to both people. It does not take one side, but always agrees with the mountain here or at Yuma as to which people shall die.

776 787 In dreams the faunal spirits at least appeared in human guise, or rather, as might be expected, their aspect fluctuated between avian or animal form and the anthropomorphic. "Those who see the coyote, eagle, or buzzard in dreams describe them as a boy or girl going along." "Some people dream of dogs who appear as persons." The dogs tell how they are abused by people and instruct the dreamer to tell this." Dogs are persons; that is why [825] Kutox did not beat his really annoying curs. Again in the vision recounted above: "So the owl turned around and rubbed himself all over. Then the owl stood in front of him in human form." [821] The case is somewhat different with Thunder and Lightning, which were conceived outright as anthropomorphic beings. Such a fluctuating conception of birds and animals would seem an inevitable result of crediting them with human intelligence and speech.

[614] There was no tendency to dream of one's sib totems. This is curious, because some totems, such as buzzard, eagle, and coyote, were repeatedly mentioned as spirits. Perhaps all totems were spirits: this is not clear. The failure to integrate dream ex- [182] perience with the social structure is not surprising, because the totems themselves were left functionless in relation to the sib system. Maricopa thought was accretive, rather than systematizing.

THE SONGS AND SONG CYCLES

533 787 The dream experience had its counterpart in song. The Maricopa say that songs were dreamed. They imply that all songs

[11] As exemplified in the tale of the Dog Champion, p. 396.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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"What is the matter with you? Were you asleep? Why did you not catch that one, an enemy, so I could club him to death?" The mountains also told if the enemy was on the way and how soon he would arrive. The interlocutor must know how to ask the mountain spirits: if he asked them wrong, the mountain would say, "Well, I do not know about the enemy, but I know that today an important person died," meaning only a lizard or a bug. 726 787

Forecasting who would win an inter-tribal race was a similar performance. Kutox described it as he once saw it while camping on the way to race with the Pima. When the shaman sang, he told them he had been instructed by his nakĭ'tc (grandparent's brother or step-father), a spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n.[36] They made only one dirt pile, in which someone secreted potsherds to test him. The shaman sang and rubbed his body, changing the dirt pile into foamy water, which he sucked in without stopping for breath. Again rubbing himself, he took the sherds off his body and flung them away. He fell "dead": everyone had to be quiet. When he recovered he told who would win. If the Maricopa were to win, he told how he had been handed many gifts by the spirit (symbolic of their winnings); otherwise the spirit said, "I was going to give you a certain thing, but now I cannot. I will do so later." 526 787 [648]

A shaman who had dreamed of Buzzard and Coyote could use his clairvoyant power to discover a thief, as well as the location of the enemy. He never mentioned the name of the thief, names being taboo, but described his clothing or habits. 787 [551]

Two instances were cited. An old woman got a shaman to discover a thief. He sat on the spot where she had last had the money, smoked four cigarettes, and told what she had done. On another occasion, a man left a bead necklace on the bank when he went swimming. It was gone when he returned: there were no footprints. He brought a shaman who made him stand where he had laid it. The shaman went along until he came to a tree, where he said there was a nest. "Sure enough, a crow had taken it there."

PRAYERS, OMENS, AND BELIEFS

Prayers (matyâxata'l) were not addressed to any spirit in particular, Mrs. Redbird thought. The air was full of spirits who 782 776

[36] Meaning unknown to informants, but seems to be based on cĭl,âai,' "sand."

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

776 would hear any prayer. Last Star also thought that they were
782 not directed to particular spirits.

Old people think that when the trees begin to bud, their lives have changed, been renewed; that a spirit has pulled them through the hard winter. They would then address the various spirits of animals and strong birds [that is, those that have power]. They did not pray to sun or moon, or dream of them. The sun toward evening says, "I have gone through the whole world watching my children. They seem all right, so I think I will go down and see how they are getting on in the other world." The sun claims every living creature as his own: so it seems queer to Last Star that they do not pray to him. The moon is an old woman who looks down on little children and protects them. Hence when the moon first appears, the little children are told to call her by a kinship term, cinkls, grandparent's sister.

[821]

171 Prayer plumes were not used by the Maricopa, although the
782 Pima usage was known. Nor were other offerings made, as shell, turquoise; nor sand paintings and fetishes constructed. The pollen crosses marked on themselves by Yavapai were equally unknown.

183 Beliefs in a magical order of events and actions were moder-
771 ately important in Maricopa thought. At the same time they gave only lip service to some of these, differentiating rather clearly between sayings and beliefs. Mrs. Redbird, my interpreter, proved invaluable in this matter, always carefully prefacing her translation with the observation that the item was one of literal belief or merely a saying.[37] All beliefs and allied practices not mentioned elsewhere in this section on religion are resumed here.

787 Apart from the import of dreams, there were several omens,
825 almost without exception presaging disaster. If the enemy were nearing a fishing party, the fish then broiling would shout out loud from among the coals. Just as soon as the fish were eaten, the enemy would appear shouting. Sometimes a fish bled from its side before it was cut: this was a sign someone would be wounded. If on a journey or to war, a deer joined the party instead of fleeing, it was taken as an omen that one of them would be killed. But the informant immediately added, that it meant they would kill an enemy, because to take a deer without having to hunt for it was lucky!

[763] Death or an epidemic was presaged by a horned owl seen flitting about the houses: when his mouth opened a light was seen

[37] For sayings see p. 331.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma
Halchidhoma

763 787 825

in it. When the loon (xalyâpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster. [821]

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma. [773]

It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.) Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them about.[38] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness. If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more. 753 [821]

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called vitâpana', and tarantula. [821] [825]

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. They were called pipain,iko'ʀ, "old people." 172 173

In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains. [823] [776]

[38] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, pp. 111, 180). [171]

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
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131 of the Jornada and towards the Colorado. Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection.

595 This people restrict themselves to a single wife.
● 776 Their ideas of a Supreme Being, in whose existence they believe, are of so vague a nature that I could not
775 ascertain them with exactness. After death, they believe that their souls go to the banks of the Colorado, their ancient dwelling-place, and there take refuge in the great sand hills, where they are metamorphosed into various animals and birds. Their heads, hands, feet, etc., each become owls, bats, wolves, and other animals. They believe, too, that the souls of their enemies, the Yumas, also find a place there; and that the wars which have so long existed between them on earth, will be continued there, after death.

584 When a man desires to marry, and has made choice of a girl for his wife, he first endeavors to win over her parents by making them presents. The fair one's attention is sought by another process. To do this, he
[534] takes his flute, an instrument of cane with four holes, and, seating himself beneath a bush near her dwelling, keeps up a plaintive noise for hours together. This music is continued day after day; and if no notice is at length taken of him by the girl, he may "hang up his flute," as it is tantamount to a rejection. If the proposal is agreeable, the fair one makes it known to the suitor, when the conquest is considered complete. No girl is forced to marry against her will, however eligible her parents may consider the match. Whenever a girl marries, it is expected that her husband will present her parents with as much